

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 DHA-05 SSO-00
NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 ACDA-07 /084 W
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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8694
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
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AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 4565

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, US, UN, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SCENARIO FOR TROOP WITHDRAWAL

REF: USUN 2556,

THIS MESSAGE SUBMITS A SUGGESTED SCENARIO ON WITHDRAWAL
OF FORCES IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

2. OUR ASSUMPTION IS THAT THE QUESTION OF ETHNIC TROOPS
WILL BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY FROM SWAPO DEMOBILIZATION
AND SAG TROOP WITHDRAWAL, EXCEPT FOR THOSE UNITS WHICH
OPERATE AS PART OF THE SADF (SEE PARA 8 BELOW).

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SAG WILL ARGUE THAT SOME PROVISION MUST BE MADE FOR THE
TRAINING OF SECURITY FORCES FOR AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA.
WE AGREE. BUT THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF THAT FORCE IS
A MATTER WHICH THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE UN
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE NEED TO EXAMINE AND DISCUSS WITH
REPRESENTATIVE NAMIBIAN LEADERS.

3. WE DO NOT HAVE DETAILED, ACCURATE INFORMATION ON SADF AND SWAPO FORCE LEVELS AND UNIT DEPLOYMENT. OUR SCENARIO, THEREFORE, LACKS THE PRECISION WE WOULD LIKE AND WHICH EVENTUALLY WILL BE NECESSARY TO DRAW UP AN AGREED DEMOBILIZATION/WITHDRAWAL PLAN. NEVERTHELESS, OUR INTELLIGENCE IS ADEQUATE ENOUGH FOR MAPPING OUT AN INITIAL NEGOTIATING STRATEGY WHICH HOPEFULLY WOULD LEAD THE SAG AND SWAPO TO MAKE AVAILABLE THE SPECIFIC INFORMATION REQUIRED.

4. THE SADF HAS APPROXIMATELY 12 IDENTIFIED MAJOR BASES

IN THE BORDER OPERATIONAL AREA (BOA). THIS DOES NOT RULE OUT, HOWEVER, THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER POSTS. THESE 12 BASES ARE LOCATED AS NEARLY AS WE CAN DETERMINE AT:

NAME	COORDINATES
RUACANA	1725S-1422E
OMBALANTU (ALSO REFUGEE CAMP)	1730S-1455E
OSHA KATI	1747S-1545E
ONDANGWA	1754S-1558E
OKANGO	1753S-1710E
RUNDU (ALSO REFUGEE CAMP IN VICINITY)	1757S-1942E
BAGANI	1807S-2137E
OMEGA	1801S-2228E
MPACHA	1730S-2408E

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KATIMA MULILO	1730S-2418E
OSHIVelo	1837S-1711E
GROOTFONTEIN	1936S-1808E

(NAME AND COORDINATES WERE TAKEN FROM THE FOLLOWING WORLD AERONAUTICAL CHARTS:
 3179 ONDANGUA
 3178 TSUMEB
 3177 LIVINGSTONE)

5. SWAPO DISPOSITIONS ARE EITHER UNKNOWN OR INFORMATION REGARDING THEM SUFFICIENTLY IMPRECISE TO MAKE EXACT LOCATION DIFFICULT. THE SOUTH AFRICANS CLAIM THAT THERE ARE NINE BASES ALONG THE BORDER LOCATED 1-3 KILOMETERS FROM THE FRONTIER. WE SPECULATE THAT SWAPO BASES ARE PROBABLY COLOCATED IN SOME INSTANCES WITH MPLA/CUBAN BASES IN ANGOLA. GIVEN THE FREEDOM WITH WHICH UNITA SEEMS TO BE OPERATING IN THE AREA, THIS WOULD MAKE SENSE FROM SECURITY AND OPERATIONAL POINT OF VIEW. IF THIS IS TRUE, WE EXPECT SWAPO PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA AT THE FOLLOWING POINTS:
 RUACANA (1724S-1412E); NALOEQUE (1711S-1507E); MELUNGA (1716S-1624E); PEREIRA D'ECA (1704S-1543E); IN THE VICINITY OF CUANGAR (1736S-1858E); IN THE VICINITY OF KARAVI (1752S-1946E);

AND MUCUSSO (1800S-2126E). WE ALSO SPECULATE THAT SWAPO PRESENCE EXISTS IN ZAMBIA, NORTH OF THE CAPRIVI STRIP ESPECIALLY AT SESHEKE (1728S-2417E) AND KAZUNGULA (1747S-2517E) POINTS WHICH HAVE PROVEN PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME TO THE REGIONAL SADF OPERATIONAL FORCES. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE ELUSIVENESS AND SEEMINGLY LOOSE DISCIPLINE OF SWAPO FORCES MAKES ANY REALISTIC CAPABILITIES OR INTENTIONS ESTIMATE DIFFICULT.

PROBLEM AREAS

6. IN WALVIS BAY THERE IS A LARGE SADF BASE. THE STATUS OF THE ENCLAVE WITHIN THE OVER-ALL SETTLEMENT IS NOT A MATTER FALLING WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THIS MESSAGE. WHAT NEEDS TO BE MADE CLEAR TO THE SAG IS THAT CONCENTRATION OF FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA AT THIS BASE IS UNACCEPTABLE. CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSUMING WALVIS BAY REMAINS OUTSIDE THE SETTLEMENT, PERHAPS AN UNDERSTANDING CAN BE REACHED WITH THE SAG THAT SA MILITARY FORCES AT WALVIS BAY WILL NOT BE EXPANDED BEYOND THE NUMBER AS OF A GIVEN DATE (DEPENDING ON THE FORCE LEVEL AT THAT TIME).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 PRETORIA 4565

7. TWO SADF BATTALIONS IN THE BORDER OPERATIONAL AREA COULD POSE PROBLEMS. THE 31ST BATTALION STATIONED IN EAST CAPRIVI MILITARY AREA IS COMPOSED OF BUSHMEN OFFICERED BY SADF OFFICERS. AS AN ESTABLISHED INTEGRAL PART OF THE SADF, THIS BATTALION SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE INCLUDED IN THE SAME CATEGORY AS THE ETHNIC UNITS SUCH AS THE OVAMBO BATTALION. THE 32ND BATTALION STATIONED NEAR OKANGO, WEST OF THE STRIP, CONSISTS OF APPROXIMATELY 600 ANGOLANS OF VARIOUS ORIGINS INCLUDING BOTH FORMER UNITA AND MPLA SOLDIERS AND SOME PORTUGUESE OFFICERS. IT MIGHT BE SUGGESTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THIS BATTALION SHOULD BE AMONG THE FIRST TO BE PULLED BACK.

8. THE SADF CURRENTLY CARRIES OUT A NUMBER OF CIVIL
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ACTION PROJECTS IN THE BOA INVOLVING NAMIBIANS AND REFUGEES FROM ANGOLA. THE TYPES OF PROGRAMS INCLUDE: EDUCATION, ANIMAL DISEASE CONTROL, AGRICULTURE AND MEDICINE. CONSIDERATION WILL HAVE TO BE GIVEN TO WHICH OF THESE SERVICES WILL CONTINUE AND WHO WILL HAVE RESPONSIBILITY.

9. THE SAG IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN TWO LARGE-SCALE CIVIL ENGINEERING PROJECTS IN THE BOA AREA, THE RUACANA HYDROELECTRIC SCHEME AND THE "GOLDEN HIGHWAY" THROUGH THE CAPRIVI STRIP. A DECISION WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE ON WHETHER CONSTRUCTION ON THESE PROJECTS WOULD CONTINUE DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. IN ANY EVENT, UN FORCES WOULD HAVE TO REPLACE SADF PERSONNEL SAFEGUARDING THESE PROJECTS.

CONCEPT OF DEMOBILIZATION/WITHDRAWAL

10. GIVEN THE COMPLEXITY OF THE OPERATION ARISING FROM THE VAST AREA TO BE COVERED, THE LACK OF GOOD COMMUNICATIONS, AND THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN PARAS 7-9, A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN CAN ONLY BE ARRIVED AT WHEN UN EXPERTS EXAMINE THE PROBLEMS IN DEPTH WITH SAG EXPERTS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF SWAPO. WE ASSUME THE UN SECRETARIAT IN ITS CONTINGENCY PLANNING IS PLACING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THIS ASPECT AND WILL ASSIGN A HIGH PRIORITY TO GETTING TOGETHER WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. SUPPLY, COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT WILL CONFRONT THE UN WITH SUCH PROBLEMS THAT WE SUGGEST A TASK FORCE OF THE FIVE BE ESTABLISHED TO HELP THE UN THINK THROUGH HOW THESE NEEDS ARE TO BE MET. FOR EXAMPLE, PRACTICALLY ALL THE FOOD FOR BASE AREAS IN THE BOA (SOLDIERS AND DEPENDENTS) HAS TO BE BROUGHT IN FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

11. WE BELIEVE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE BOA SHOULD BE FASTER THAN SUGGESTED IN THE ILLUSTRATIVE TIMETABLE CONTAINED IN REFTEL, ASSUMING UN ELEMENTS (UNE) CAN BE BROUGHT IN
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WITH THE SPEED INDICATED. WE PROPOSE THIS SCENARIO:

- | | TIMING | SOUTH AFRICA | SWAPO |
|----|-------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | | AGREEMENT TO THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE. | AGREEMENT TO THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE. |
| 2. | WITHIN THE FIRST WEEK: | UNE ADVANCE PARTY ARRIVES IN WINDHOEK TO COMPLETE DETAILS WITH SAG/SADF ON TAKE-OVER ARRANGEMENTS. | UNE ADVANCE PARTY ARRIVES IN LUANDA (OR MILITARY HQ IN SOUTH) TO CONFER WITH GOA/ SWAPO ON SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS. |
| 3. | WITHIN THE SECOND WEEK: | CEASE FIRE GOES INTO EFFECT. SADF FORCES CONFINE THEMSELVES TO BASES. UNE DEPLOYED TO SADF BASES AND SPECIAL PROJECTS IN BOA. | CEASE FIRE GOES INTO EFFECT. SWAPO FORCES WITHDRAW AND CONFINE THEMSELVES TO BASES IN ANGOLA/ZAMBIA. UNE DEPLOYED TO SWAPO BASES. |
| 4. | WITHIN THE THIRD WEEK: | SADF FORCES CONSOLIDATE IN DESIGNATED BASES BOA OR ARE WITHDRAWN TO REAR AREAS. BUSHMEN AND 32ND BATTALIONS DEACTIVATED AND DISARMED, WITH SADF OFFICERS WITHDRAWN BUT MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES ALLOWED TO REMAIN AT BASE, PENDING FUTURE DISPOSITION. UNE OCCUPIES (ON MISSION AS OPPOSED TO MAN-PER-MAN BASIS) VACATED SADF INSTALLATIONS. SADF LIAISON OFFICER | SWAPO FORCES CONSOLIDATE IN DESIGNATED BASES IN ANGOLA/ZAMBIA. DEMOBILIZATION/REPATRIATION UNDER UN SUPERVISION STARTS. ABANDONED CAMPS AND BASES WOULD BE LEFT VACANT BUT VISITED PERIODICALLY BY UNE TEAMS STATIONED AT SWAPO BASES OF CONCENTRATION. SWAPO LIAISON OFFICER WOULD ACCOMPANY THESE TEAMS. |

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MAY BE ASSIGNED TO EACH
VACATED BASE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 PRETORIA 4565

5. WITHIN THE SADF FORCES WITHDRAW DEMOBILIZATION/
FIFTH WEEK: FROM BOA AND CONSOLIDATE REPATRIATION
AT GROOTFONTEIN OR RETURN
TO SA, WITH FORCE REMAINING
AT GROOTFONTEIN NOT TO EXCEED
3000. SIMULTANEOUSLY,
OTHER SADF FORCES IN NAM-
IBIA CONSOLIDATE AT WIND-
HOEK OR WITHDRAW TO RSA.

6. WITHIN THE SADF FORCES AT GROOT- DEMOBILIZATION/
EIGHT WEEK: FONTEIN REDUCED TO A REPATRIATION
TOTAL OF 2000. ALL SADF PROCESS COMPLETED
PERMANENT FORCE UNITS, WITH ALL SWAPO

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INCLUDING THE SWA COMMAND MEMBERS WISHING TO
HQS, TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM PARTICIPATE IN POLIT-
WINDHOEK TO RSA. (SWA ICAL PROCESS BEING
COMMAND IS MAJOR SUBORDIN- RELOCATED TO
ATE ELEMENT OF SADF.) NAMIBIA. SWAPO BASES
SADF FORCES AT WALVIS BAY CLOSED DOWN, SUBJECT
REDUCED TO ONE INFANTRY TO PERIODIC UNE
BATTALION GROUP AND DEPOT INSPECTION.
UNITS.

7. WITHIN THE SADF FORCES AT GROOT-
TWELFTH WEEK: FONTEIN REDUCED FURTHER
TO 500, OR COMPLETELY
WITHDRAWN.

12. THIS SCENARIO HAS BEEN PREPARED IN CONJUNCTION WITH AIR
AND ARMY ATTACHES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERIM GOVERNMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, DEMOBILIZATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR04565
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
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Errors: N/A
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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197709102/aaaadicr.tel
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